LABOUR MONTHLY

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TRADE UNIONS IN POLITICS

The Editor

Special TUC articles:

COMMON MARKET: UNEMPLOYMENT PUBLIC EMPLOYEES

Richard Briginshaw, G. H. Doughty, Alan Fisher

NORTHERN IRELAND Betty Sinclair

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Notes of the Month

TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICS

'The historic role of trade unionism is to fight for the defence and betterment of all workers' standards, and ultimately to prepare for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism (the cause of the workers' poverty and degradation) and the establishment of workers' control of industry.'

HARRY POLLITT: Reply on behalf of the Minority Movement to Walter Citrine, then Secretary of the Trades Union Congress, 1928.

August 16, 1971

This year's Trades Union Congress in September is meeting at a moment when the strength of the trade unions is greater than ever before in the history of British trade unionism. The militancy and tenacity of the organised working class in action has been demonstrated on a scale unequalled for decades, with the official figure of strike days for the first five months of 1971, returned at 10,387,000, already exceeding the total of the stormy year 1970. And this official return excludes the nation-wide response on the two days of political strikes and withdrawals of labour, in many cases official, against the Industrial Relations Bill, which has now been placed on the statute book, but whose enforcement has still to confront the test of practice. At the same time the historic new initiative of the Upper Clyde Shipbuilding 'work-in' of the most skilled and world-renowned shipbuilding workers of any centre, to resist the butchery of their industry and fight to maintain employment, has aroused solidarity and enthusiastic wide support, not only throughout Scotland, but throughout Britain and internationally.

Class Confrontation

In face of this strength and militancy of the organised working class the present Tory Government of Heath, Barber, Davies and Carr, the most shameless Government of unconcealed big business reaction since Chamberlain, and in many respects worse, is conducting the heaviest offensive against the foundations of trade unionism since the days of the Combination Acts. This offensive to disarm the workers is combined with a parallel calculated offensive against the living standards of the mass of the people, to cut down and undermine the social gains won by generations of struggle. This social offensive

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is combined with the most reckless offensive against all sectors of industry, spreading an extending nightmare of unemployment on a scale which already recalls the depression days of the nineteen-thirties. The double purpose of this industrial offensive is to fortify still further the privileged position and increase the profits of the biggest monopolies and high-interest moneylenders, and by the same process of extending unemployment weaken the fighting resistance of the workers. This home offensive is combined with an offensive in blood (professedly to check violence, but in practice increasing it) to maintain the denial of civil rights to the people of Northern Ireland. It is combined with a cold war offensive, exceeding Munich, to sell out the democratic rights of the British people to a ganging up of super-monopolists in Western Europe. Such are the grave and menacing realities of the present Tory Government's offensive which confront the delegates to this year's TUC.

Trade Unions in the Forefront of the Battle

Against this combined offensive of Tory reaction, conducted through the Heath Government, the trade unions are the sword and shield of the working class; the mass driving force of political advance in the Labour Party; the citadel of the organised working class struggle; the voice of the mass of the working people which can speak officially on their behalf outside the control of the octopus tentacles of modern finance capital and its mass media; and, together with the indispensable role of the grass roots organisations in the factories and workshops, and in the districts and regions, and the no less indispensable role of the political party of working class struggle, the decisive leader of mass action in the economic struggle which today becomes more and more manifestly at the same time political. Therefore there is no cause for surprise if the sharpest point of the present Tory offensive is directed against the trade unions. The delegates to the Congress this September face the gravest problems, and hold the highest responsibilities, economic and political, of any Congress in its 103 years of existence. The class confrontation is open.

Cowes versus Clydeside

No more damning pictorial representation of this class confrontation of two worlds could have been devised by the most ferocious cartoonist than was provided by real life when the Prime Minister who had given the orders for the destruction of the shipyards on the Clyde was himself concentrating all his attention on his pleasure

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yacht in a race in the fashionable yachting centre of Cowes. Even the Conservative press could not miss pointing the contrast:

> No wonder Clydeside is a depressed area and Cowes is a boom town. The Scottish shipbuilders have been making the wrong sort of ships. If the sight of many hundreds of colourful spinnakers blooming in the easy Cowes wind is breathtaking, so are the economics. There's about a million pounds worth of pleasure boats bobbing in the gentle tide. So who goes yachting? The people who can afford it, with the result that Cowes has become very much the watering hole of the rich upper middle classes (*Sunday Times*, August 8, 1971).

But what the Conservative commentator failed to realise was that this contrast is the typical expression of the British imperialist economy, whose parasitic profiteers bask in luxury with the aid of the proceeds of their overseas imperialist exploitation, which they have made it their main aim to build up, at the expense of neglecting the development of home industry. Resting on imperialist super-profits, to buttress their profits from home exploitation, they have complacently accepted the decline of British industry in the order of industrial nations, now to fifth place. Why should they be concerned if the British share of world shipbuilding has fallen from 50 per cent to 7 per cent today? Let Japan build the ships. Pleasure yachts at £20,000 a time, like Premier Heath's according, to his own alleged price that he paid while inflicting hardships on the workers, are much more interesting.

Workers' Fight for the Right to Work

But here has arisen the new startling fact which has began to break through all their calculations and arouse in the guilty minds of the upper class panic fears of the impending tumbrils of revolution. The workers have begun to refuse to be butchered on the chopping block of redundancy. When the ruling class gave orders for the closing of shipyards on the Clyde, the entire working force, the shipbuilding workers, the pride of Britain's industry, proceeded to occupy the shipyards, not to dismantle them, not to strike, but to work them. Complete unity, order and discipline was maintained under the control of the shop stewards; the former managing elements co-operated. Solidarity was declared by the workers in every other section of Scottish industry to ensure supplies. The Conservative destroyers were reduced to preventing, according to the shop stewards' statement, £120 million of orders from reaching the shipyards, so as to stop them from working. A remarkable upside-down picture

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of the current relations of capital and labour in Britain today. The beginning of a socialist revolution? Not so fast. When the BBC put on a Trotskyist spokesman to air this type of theory, and then invited the General Secretary of the Communist Party, John Gollan, to comment, they found that Gollan very justly dismissed this type of would-be 'revolutionary' analysis of the action of the Clyde workers as 'poppycock'. Serious Marxists understand that the real change of class power and transition from capitalism to socialism, which is so urgently needed in the sick economy of this country, and the need for which is highlighted by the situation of the Clyde shipyards, requires a far more advanced stage of the political working class and democratic movement than has yet been reached in this country.

Elementary Demand—Revolutionary Significance

The unity of all the Clyde shipyard workers, and of the widest sections of the Scottish people, irrespective of political alignment, has been for a demand which has from the earliest stage been the oldest traditional demand of the labour movement—the 'right to work'. But in the present economic-political set-up this elementary traditional demand takes on the character of a challenge to the whole ruling system: the refusal to accept passively redundancies and unemployment, and the launching of working class action to compel measures to fight unemployment. Of course the whole record of the original foundation and running of UCS under the Labour Government: the refusal of nationalisation; the imposition of a crippling capital burden of the losses of past companies; the inadequate financing; mis-calculations and blunders of management, provided the initial conditions for the Conservative Government to come in as the final destroyers. But through all this the UCS workers, who bore none of the blame for this mis-management from above, and were the victims of its consequences, now stand out in the forefront in their fight for a positive policy to save the shipyards and to maintain employment. By this action of the UCS workers the working class is revealed in the sight of all as the one positive constructive force in the disease-ridden economy of Britain today.

1926 and Today

Comparisons have been drawn by some commentators with the previous high level of working class militancy four and a half decades ago in the era of Red Friday and the red-hot resolutions of the Scarborough Congress culminating in the General Strike of 1926. If such comparisons are made to demonstrate that the spirit of working

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class militancy could not be annihilated by the dark days of Mondism, but has arisen anew stronger than ever, then this historical memory of a previous high point can have its significance and inspiration. But if the purpose of such comparison is in reality defeatist, to suggest that every upsurge of working class militancy can only end in inevitable collapse as in the betrayal of the General Strike with the bitter resulting harvest of victimisation and the most ruthless capitalist offensive, then such reactionary defeatism needs to be exposed and fought, and the significant differences of the stage reached today brought to full consciousness. At the time of Red Friday and Scarborough and the General Strike the TUC had not half the strength in numbers that it has today: 4.3 millions in 1925 as against over 9 millions today. Nor is this merely a difference in numbers. Despite the positive role of the left grouping in the General Council whose influence brought into being the short-lived Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committee, the reactionary character of the dominant leadership, the same leadership which deliberately betrayed the General Strike at the moment when the workers' response was at its highest, was typified in the role of a J. H. Thomas on the trade union side and a Ramsay Macdonald on the side of the Labour Party, both of whom finally went over openly to the Tories. The profound process which has since developed during the intervening decades, especially from the second world war onwards, in the basic organisations of the working class, in the factory and workshop organisation of the trade unions, with the key role of the shop stewards and joint shop stewards committees, reflecting the co-operation of the communist and non-communist left, and the gradual overcoming of bans and proscriptions and victories of democracy in the trade unions (not yet in the political labour movement), has also produced its reflection in changes in the leadership of many major unions. The fact that the role of a Bevin or a Carron or a Deakin, beloved by the capitalist press, has been replaced by the present influential role of such leaders as Hugh Scanlon or Jack Jones, denounced by the same capitalist press, as 'The Terrible Twins', is not a question of the estimation of individuals, but a symptom of the developing currents in trade unionism today, and the growth of forces from below for the future fight.

Trade Unions and the Labour Party

This sweeping advance in the strength of trade unionism, with the overcoming of the old bans and proscriptions, and extending victories of democracy in the internal structure, have not been accompanied by

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a corresponding advance in strength of organisation of the Labour Party, where the old system of anti-democratic bans and proscriptions, to deny trade unions the right of free choice of their delegates, still prevails. But it is already significant that the advance in the trade unions has begun to exercise an influence on the Labour Party. Previously the Labour Party under MacDonald acted as the would-be boss and right-wing brake against any left trends in the trade unions. When the Scarborough TUC in September 1925 adopted its famous series of militant resolutions, with the close co-operation of communists and non-communists in their formulation, the Liverpool Labour Party Conference in October replied with a conspicuously reactionary policy statement, replacing the aims of the old 1918 'New Social Order' by 'A Co-ordinated Programme of National Reconstruction and Reform' and carrying to an extreme the excommunication of communists, with the demand to the trade unions to renounce their democratic free choice of delegates. But today the new currents in trade unionism have begun to influence the balance of forces in the leading organs of the Labour Party, as manifested in a series of significant votes in the Labour Party Executive, and also in the increased strength of the left in the Parliamentary Labour Party, with the active role of spokesmen with militant trade union connections. It is this increasing political role of the progressive forces of trade unionism, arising from the whole character of the present situation and the Tory Government offensive, which is of key importance to open a new perspective also for the political labour movement. For the trade unions have the power, if they use it, to transform the political labour movement and bring it closer to the aims and demands of the working people, and thereby open a new political situation in Britain.

Trade Unions' Political Role

Previously in the days of Citrine and Mond and Bevin and their successors until the most recent phase, it had become the current cant of the apostles of class co-operation to describe the trade unions as a great 'Estate of the Realm'. Presiding over the Norwich TUC in 1937 Bevin could declare that the TUC had 'now virtually become an integral part of the state'. After the Labour Government of 1945-51 had gone out of office, the same tune could still be repeated of the supposed function of the TUC:

> The Labour Party may be in Government one day or in Opposition the next, while the TUC remains an immoveable part of British Government at all times (*Observer*, June 1, 1952).

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These conditions are changed today. The present class confrontation has dealt a shattering blow to this old conception. The TUC is at war with the Tory Government. The Tory Government's Industrial Relations Act strikes at the very foundations of trade unionism. Thus the trade unions are placed in the forefront of the political fight. Just as the TUC, in face of legislative and court threats to trade union rights, joined with the socialists to found the political movement of the Labour Representation Committee at the turn of the century, and after Taff Vale and the 1906 election the Labour Party, so today the TUC is again called on to fulfil the role of political pacemaker.

Let the Unions Lead

The TUC, responding to the mass pressure of the organised workers, led the way in mobilising the fight against the Industrial Relations Bill, and in pledging refusal to co-operate in its operation, while the vote of four millions showed the strength of support of the demand for effective action. The biggest unions led the way in declaring explicit opposition to the Tory Government's attempt to bulldoze Britain into the Common Market, and the Labour Party has finally adopted a corresponding line. The distinction between economic and political issues has fallen. The trade unions have the power and the responsibility to initiate and carry forward the policies of the political labour movement; to challenge the arrogant assumption of a handful of parliamentarians to set themselves up as a supreme court above the organised working class; to insist on the right of trade unions to choose freely their representatives in the political labour movement, so that the same democracy shall function in the choice of representatives for the Labour Party Conference as for the TUC, making possible the same accession of strength which progressive co-operation has brought for the unions; and to lead the fight for a class programme which can rally the support of the mass of the working people and middle strata against the big monopolies. The TUC in September has the supreme opportunity and the responsibility to lead the way in this political fight.

Battleground of the Industrial Relations Act

In the forefront of the battle is the Government's Industrial Relations Act. The Government's tactical aim in this battle is to seek to smother and confuse opposition with smooth words, and to proceed by a series of experimental stages before the full blunderbus is brought into action. On the day that the Act received the Royal Assent an elaborate programme was issued of successive dates of

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proposed stages of operation reaching into 1972. When the Special TUC in March decided to recommend refusal to register under the new legislation, the wording was altered to make registration automatic, so that each union would have to take a special decision to de-register. In this way it is hoped to disorganise the opposition, with an accompanying patter of assurances that no harm is really meant to any trade unionist, but only protection of constitutional trade unionism and the guaranteed rights of legitimate strikes. No trade unionist should be confused by this patter. On February 23 the Solicitor General, Sir Geoffrey Howe, declared in Parliament that the sanctions would involve prison for recalcitrant trade unionists:

> If in the last resort somebody is determined to continue defying an order made in a situation defined in this Bill, then he cannot be kept out of prison.

Similarly, the Government patter declares that the anti-strike regulations are 'only' intended to stop unofficial strikes. But in another context the Employment Minister Carr declared in Parliament on March 24 that 95 per cent of strikes are unofficial:

> For many years about 95 per cent of all our strikes have been unofficial.

So by their own calculations the anti-strike legislation is directed against 95 per cent of strikes. And the remaining provision for official strikes is so hedged in by barbed wire regulations, cooling off periods, official intervention and the like as to leave the unions handcuffed and paralysed at the mercy of the wishes of the Government and the ruling class. Above all, the offensive is directed against the vital nerve of trade union organisation, the organisation in the factories, and against the key role of the shop stewards, with the aim to destroy their independence and replace them by subservient instruments dependent on management.

Danger of Divided Counsels

Yet, despite the manifest menace of this most serious offensive against trade unionism since the first conquest of the rights of independent trade union organisation, there are dangerous signs of divided counsels and divergencies on the methods of meeting this offensive. While the Special TUC in March reached firm unanimous decisions on five points: to refuse to co-operate in the organs to be set up under the proposed legislation; to maintain the Bridlington procedure for inter-union relations; and to demand a specific pledge from the Labour Party for a future Labour Government to repeal the Act; on two points there was lack of agreement. One was on the

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question of industrial action to defeat the Bill, which was rejected by a little over five to four. This does not mean that the question of industrial action will not arise, but it may in consequence arise at a moment of the Government's choosing, when the Government deems the conditions most strategically favourable to deliver its blow against a given trade unionist or a trade union. The second was on the question of registration, on which the Special Congress 'strongly advised' against registration, but left the option open in view of the representations made of special circumstances affecting some of the white collar unions. Once this loophole had been opened for special cases, it was widened by the declaration of Lord Cooper, General Secretary of the Municipal and General Workers: 'I want my Union to keep the right to strike in a legal way, and the only way it is possible is for the Union to be registered.' Consequently there is at present considerable divergence in the approach to this initial testing question of registration, especially after the Government cunningly revised the formula to make registration automatic, so that each Union has to reach a special decision to de-register.

Need for a United Stand

Already in April Hugh Scanlon, while stating that 'any effective attempt to make this legislation inoperable can only flow from a tactical refusal by all trade unions to register . . . such a united front, if carried through, would destroy the effect of such legislation', added the critical comment that 'the movement is in effect disunited and in disarray when faced with a serious test. This is not mincing words—but then this is not the time to mince words.' By the beginning of August, at the very moment when the Industrial Relations Act became law, the announcement of the formation under the aegis of the National Economic Development Council of a special working party or Committee of Four, including two Government representatives, a representative of the Confederation of British Industry and the General Secretary, TUC, to consider the basis for co-operation in solving Britain's economic problems, aroused concern as suggesting a policy of co-operation with the Tory Government at the moment of need of the strongest fight to defeat the Government's anti-union legislation. The delegates to the TUC in September will have to give the most serious consideration to these problems in order to promote a united stand of the unions against the anti-union offensive; for the old motto of trade unionism remains true, that unity is strength, while division plays into the hands of the Tory Government's offensive.

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Common Market—Can Labour Force an Election?

Equally important with the fight to defeat the anti-union offensive is the fight against the Government strategy to pressgang Britain into the Common Market without even a pretence of giving the opportunity of a popular verdict. Up to the present this insolent refusal to allow the electorate to have a say has been covered up by the plea that, since the three main parties in Parliament had all given approval of the principle of entry, there was no need of an electoral consultation. But now, this plea has been blown sky-high by the decision of the Labour Party to oppose and vote against entry on the Government's terms. It is a matter for satisfaction that, after all the shilly-shallying and evasions, calling of a Special Conference on the issue and then refusing to allow the Special Conference to make a decision, the Labour Party Executive should have finally decided by a majority of 16 to 6 to oppose the Government's proposals for entry. But this is only the beginning of the battle, not the end. The coming weeks will see the decisive phases of this key battle between the weakly-arrayed popular forces, reflecting the deep feeling of the people, and the most high-powered mass publicity technique backed by all the resources of the Government and high finance to force through a disastrous and unpopular policy. Two further steps are immediately essential to strike at Heath's vulnerable position, now that his pretence of parliamentary unanimity has been exploded. The first is to give a firm pledge that, if Heath takes Britain into the Common Market, the next Labour Government will reverse this decision and take Britain out. Such a pledge, completely in accordance with the sovereignty of Parliament, would directly contradict the assertion of Heath and the terms of the Paris Treaty that entry is irrevocable. Since there is every prospect, on present electoral showing, with the popular anger against the Tory Government, that the next Government may be likely to be a Labour Government, a pledge of this nature would give pause to Pompidou and Brandt in reaching their final decision on an entry whose effect could explode the Paris Treaty. In this way it would be possible to throw a very powerful popular spanner into the negotiations even before the final outcome.

Combination of Parliamentary Fight and Mass Fight

The second essential step is to ensure the maximum effective strength of the parliamentary vote on October 29. There is known to be a serious minority of Tory MPs, variously estimated at some 30, strongly opposed to entry. The Government will of course issue a three-line whip, but it is still possible that some of those

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who feel most strongly may abstain. On the Labour side there is also a minority, whose views were reflected by the six on the Labour Party Executive, in favour of entry. The Wilson assurance at the Executive meeting that the pro-Market minority would be free to continue propaganda for their viewpoint was explicitly made 'until the Annual Party Conference and the Parliamentary Labour Party reach a decision in October'. In other words, once the decision is thus reached the full strength of the Parliamentary Labour Party needs to be expressed in the vote. The Labour Party Executive resolution of July 28, besides calling for a general election 'invited' the Parliamentary Labour Party to 'unite wholeheartedly in voting against the Government's policy'. Since it is known that Heath counts on the pro-Market minority in the Parliamentary Labour Party to balance the anti-Market minority in his own party, it is evident that effective fulfilment of this strategy by every Labour MP, could even render Heath's majority for entry precarious, and in any case enormously strengthen the demand for an election on this most vital decision for Britain's political future, on which Government and Opposition are directly divided. From now on the central target of popular mass campaigning needs to be to force a general election.

Ireland—Our Responsibility

The responsibilities of the delegates to the TUC and Labour Party Conferences cannot be confined to the fight against Toryism in Britain without regard to our international responsibilities. At the moment a principal storm centre of the international situation, which has aroused anger and concern among the widest sections of public opinion all over the world, is the armed offensive being conducted by this same Tory Government and its Stormont satellites against the democratic forces of the people of Northern Ireland, with the constantly increasing despatch of troops, the state of siege conditions, the wholesale internments without trial, mostly of democratic and civil rights spokesmen, the daily toll of deaths and the conditions of terror for the working people, whom British imperialist strategy has consistently worked to divide along lines of religion. Marx already a century ago wrote in a letter on April 19, 1870, on the necessity

> to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that *for them* the national *emancipation of Ireland* is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the *first condition of their own social emancipation.*

The situation today is very clearly presented by Betty Sinclair in her

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article this month. The fiendish character of the situation, as always wherever British imperialism has left its trail of gunpowder, poison and tangled animosities among the people, is that the tragedy for which Britain holds the responsibility can no longer be now simply met by demanding the withdrawal of the invading troops without tackling at the same time those aspects of the political situation for which British policy is responsible and which it is therefore the duty of the British people to change as the indispensable accompaniment of the withdrawal of the troops. The joint statements of the British and Irish Communist Parties have indicated this path forward. The *Irish Democrat* of August has outlined a suggested formulation of eight concrete steps to be taken, under the title 'How They Can Disengage':

(1) Renounce all claim to Irish soil;
(2) Announce a policy of withdrawal;
(3) Disarm Orange forces, rifle clubs, etc.;
(4) Ban provocative parades;
(5) Establish equality and democracy through a Bill of Rights;
(6) Proceed with withdrawal of troops;
(7) Conclude an agreement with Dublin based on a united Irish Republic;
(8) Finish withdrawal of all British administration.

The demand for the fulfilment of these steps needs to be voiced by the British working class movement.

The Paramount Need of Unity

There are many new issues of far-reaching significance which have arisen in the international situation and which will require the most careful review in a future number: notably, the events of the anti-popular offensive in the Sudan, and danger-signals of imperialist attempts to spread disruption in the Middle East; the deepening crisis of world capitalist economy, demonstrated in the special type of devaluation of the dollar and accompanying American protectionist and emergency economic measures; and the role of President Nixon's projected visit to Peking, with the obvious hopes, in the words of the Vietnam journal *Nhan Dan* of 'dividing the socialist countries, winning over one section and pitting it against another'. For the moment this much must be said. The need of unity of the world socialist camp, of the international working class movement and of all the forces of national liberation and democratic progress are greater than ever in the present dangerous world situation. This is equally the vital interest of the Chinese

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People's Republic, as of every socialist country. The present international situation undoubtedly shows in the long term balance of historical development the advance in the relative strength of socialism, national liberation and the working class, and is consequently opening up new and favourable possibilities for the future. But we cannot for a moment close our eyes to the lessons of the reactionary anti-popular offensives which have taken and are taking place. This present international situation with the sharpening instability of imperialist relations, and especially with the unstable role of US imperialism, bristles with menacing possibilities which will require the closest unity of all socialist countries and all progressive forces to combine the maintenance of national independence and the distinctive paths of social development with firm and unbreakable co-operation in international relations. Equally in the situation in Britain the paramount need is the strengthening of working class and democratic unity, embracing all sections of the organised working class movement without bans and discrimination, and drawing in the broadest popular support to defeat the offensive of Tory reaction.

R.P.D.

FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS

Since the publication of the third selection of Golden Jubilee greetings in our August issue, further messages have been received from the following:

LEO FIGUERES
Director of *Cahiers du Communisme*, Paris:

'On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of *Labour Monthly*, the Editorial Committee of *Cahiers du Communisme*, journal of the French Communist Party, is happy to send you fraternal greetings and its wishes for success. For half-a-century your publication has contributed to the defence of the cause of the labour movement in Great Britain, has studied, in the light of Marxism-Leninism, the problems facing your country, has publicised the activities of the communist movement and the socialist countries. We hope the editorial staff of *Labour Monthly* may continue its efficient work in the service of the democratic cause, the national independence of nations, socialism and peace.'

EDUARDO GALLEGOS MANCERA
Secretary for International Relations of the Communist Party of Venezuela

M. KHALDEYEV
Editor of *Partinaya Zhizn*, Moscow

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COMMON MARKET—GREAT DEBATE FARCE

Richard Briginshaw*
General Secretary
National Society of Operative Printers & Assistants

THERE has *not* been a great debate about entry of the UK into the European Economic Community (EEC). There cannot be a real great debate. All the main facilities of the mass media are controlled by and in the hands of a pro-Market ruling establishment. It is at times like this one can see who really rules Britain.

A farcical university debate under the simpleton title of 'Are Women better than Men?' would be more real and more fair. It is the continuation of the ten-year £50,000,000 brainwash. For every one word of those opposed to Britain's entry allowed in the press, there are 10,000 words for entry. Front-page headlines for Roy Jenkins, back-page inches columns for Clive, hand-picked tame Marketeers from home and abroad for the radio, BBC and ITV television, morning, noon and night—a great wave of propaganda for the seduction and destruction of our nation. The people of this country will need a high level of bravery to withstand the battering against their rapidly developing instinct of class and national self-preservation from a domination by the most dangerous element in society today—modern, rapacious capitalism, now really sniffing the foretastes of their coming doom.

The immediate struggle is to prevent UK entry into the EEC. The first persuasion of the establishment rulers is to seek to put over to our people the thought that it is all over and we are going in, even if the pro-Marketeers do admit that it is a 'great gamble', a 'leap into the unknown'! We, your rulers, have settled it, and you will acquiesce. This is a dangerous factor. The line of Michael Foot was more realistic when he reminded a London mass rally against the Market entry that a year's enabling legislation could and should be fought every inch of the way.

If alongside this the mass movement is developed in the factories, on the streets, amongst our people at grass roots, we can win this battle. The struggle will have to be waged alongside the consciously increased food prices (Barber's budget was a hoodwink), against the impositions which are 'to get us used to it', against the mani-

* Richard Briginshaw is a member of the General Council of the TUC.

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festations of the Tory industrial legislation, and the general attack on the trade unions, all now openly linked together by Mr Heath.

Why should we want to resist entry to the EEC?

First, there is not, and never has been, an economic case for going in.

Second, there is not, and never has been, a good progressive reason for going in, but the motivation of our rulers is wholly political. As they were willing to risk all, prior to the second world war, in a lunatic pursuance of basic reactionary anti-socialist policies, so they turn again, like a dog to its vomit, in a new risk-all adventure, another desperate act on a national abdication basis to join a cosmopolitan attempt to stem the tides of history.

Mr Davies, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, has given the economic game away on a crucial point: motor vehicles. He says he knows that the first period would be bad. So he should. Only simpletons could believe there is room for great advances for our car sales amongst the Six. Contrariwise, they could swamp our home market. They have large, established, exceedingly competitive motor car industries. There is a physical limitation on car sales in the 'Little Europe' of the Six anyway. This prime example goes more or less for most of industry in the Six. The face-saving word in answer to the logic of the situation by the pro-Marketeers is to evoke the abracadabra of the 'dynamic' of entry. The Six's growth rates are controlled by calculable and limiting factors. This goes whether the UK is in or out. The 'Little Europeans' have found no way, nor can they do so, of 'jumping out of the real world'. The whole concept of our entry economically is fantastic. Heaven help us if our Whitehall Mandarins really believe in their own policies in this particular connection.

The extract on page 400, from a table contained in *Britain and the Common Market*, by S. S. Han and H. H. Liesner*, is based on the latest figures available to them.

I would estimate that since 1967 there has been a tendency for all the figures to grow slightly, with the EEC exports of passenger cars to the UK having grown most. I have used it to illustrate two particular points forgotten by the pro-Market fanatics: that is the fourth column, UK exports to third countries, and the other contention of Messrs Han and Liesner, which I share, that in those areas where the UK does well inside the EEC now, we are probably at 'ceiling'. The special feature of attraction for our lorry and truck

* *Britain and the Common Market*, S. S. Han and H. H. Liesner. *Cambridge University Press*, 116 pp., £1.20.

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sales is met. The field for further advance is small. I emphasise that it is the *fourth column losses* which will add to the overall disastrous effect on the UK if we enter the EEC.

We do about four times as much trade with the rest of the world or third parties as against the total trade we do with EEC countries. The pro-Marketeers cannot contest the fact that the rest of the world, or third party, trading pattern will be upset, i.e. we shall lose certain mutually advantageous trading positions. We obviously would not be able to continue the pattern of Commonwealth preferences. Put simply, if we prefer EEC patterns, and we shall if we enter the Community, the Australians, for instance, will not continue a one-sided bargain with us. The present Commonwealth preferences are based on a pattern of mutualities.

A great danger lurks behind the three communities that comprise the continental European economic structure which involves the Six. They are: the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom). The UK, in the late fifties, studiously avoided joining the European Coal and Steel Community, the European Atomic Community and the European Economic Community. The UK instead set up with Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden and Switzerland the European Free Trade Association (EFTA).

It appears settled by the Heath Government that the earlier inhibitions have been overcome in the present desperate rush to join the EEC. If we join the ECSC, it carries the potent danger of death to major coal mining in the UK, and likewise with steel. It is part of the central logic of the whole continental European set-up of the three Communities. Industrial, economic and geographical 'lines of communication' argue powerfully for the introduction of, first, a 'containment' of British steel manufacture and of coal mining, and in the longer term their run down. It may be

Description	UK exports to EEC ($'000) (1)	EEC exports to UK ($'000) (2)	Intra-trade ($'000) (3)	UK exports to third countries ($'000) (4)	EEC exports to third countries ($'000) (5)
Lorries and trucks	9,072	4,184	161,254	190,449	180,795
Passenger motor cars	64,850	68,905	1,128,755	399,637	1,150,361

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said by pro-Marketeers that there are certain inevitabilities about this. It cannot be contested, however, that this will leave large areas of the UK derelict. Natural gases will not fill the fuel requirement gaps, and oil imports have to be paid for and will add further burdens on us.

It is the required and apparently agreed financial contributions from the UK that are frightening. In simple money terms, the first year contributions to the Community budget will require £100-£150 million down-payment. This will rapidly *increase* each year, and is likely to reach £400 million by 1977. After 1980, the supposed transition period, there is no agreed limit. This is, I repeat, frightening, but it is nightmarish when one considers that the agricultural support contributions are *in addition* to those for the Community budget. These most important estimations of costs against balance of payments considerations are deliberately excluded from the recent Heath white paper. The payments returns *to* the UK are in the 'chicken feed' calculations. The collapse of the US dollar accentuates all the financial problems arising from UK entry to the EEC. Either way, revaluation or devaluation later on would increase the prices of all our imported raw materials—always substantial for the UK. The cost of living is bound to soar, and the Government has the industrial legislation in waiting, hoping to overcome the struggle working people will be certain to put up. There is considerable instability with regard to monetary matters in general within the EEC.

The claptrap of our rulers is in their phraseology of 'joining Europe', as if we were not Europeans and our islands were in a remote geographical position. They are the Continentals, we are the close European Islanders; the best of European civilisation and traditions are with us all, looking for a new blooming in the new world unfolding before our eyes right now. We have a great contribution to make to building this new world, but not within the confines of three originally conceived cold-war communities.

LABOUR MONTHLY FIFTY YEARS AGO

Our historic part in China and in Chinese seas has been one of consistent egoism. We struck the key-note in the Opium Wars with a cynicism rare even in our history. We used the erratic talent of General Gordon to drown in massacre the promising renaissance known as the Taiping Rebellion. We have since sanctioned the robberies and cruelties of the Japanese, first in Korea, then in Manchuria and at length in Shantung. In so doing we pursued our traditional policy of the balance of power. (From 'The Washington Conference', by H. N. Brailsford, *Labour Monthly*, September 1921)

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NORTHERN IRELAND

Betty Sinclair
Secretary
Belfast Trades Council

THE reform movement, initiated by the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Movement in 1968, heralded the greatest political struggles seen in Ireland for over half-a-century. It also called forth all the evil reaction within the Unionist Party system, particularly evidenced by the August 1969 pogrom against the Catholic people of Belfast. The local Unionist Party, and the British Government, are unable to rule the area in the old way and it is obvious to competent political observers, since the phoney 'curfew' in the Lower Falls area of Belfast on July 3 to 5, 1970, broken by demonstrations of women on July 5 bringing food to upwards of 40,000 people beleaguered by some 4,000 British troops, that there exists *de facto* military rule: civil rule and civil law have been set aside.

It said much for the patience of the Social Democratic Labour Party, with six Members and constituting the official opposition at Stormont, that they had, for some months after the formation of the Party, attempted to work within the parliamentary framework; they had also refused to countenance efforts by the Civil Rights Association to break through bans imposed on civil rights marches, and had made it clear that violence was no part of their programme. They wanted to work within the 'constitutional framework' of the Government of Ireland Act and, whilst they believed that Ireland should be united, they would accept the decision of the majority on this question. They believed that, given the goodwill of the Government, the reform programme could be carried out.

They found themselves confronted by the realities of the situation: Unionist Party control, backed by a British Tory Government and 11,000 British troops, committed to keeping the facade of 'democratic rule', mainly to impress outside opinion. The situation had not changed: the opposition Members could cajole, wheedle, beseech or demand as the occasion called for inside parliament. Their voices, opinions, suggestions or strictures mattered as much, or as little, as such voices ever did since the parliament was established in 1920. The SDLP also found, after the excesses committed by the British troops in the homes of the people of Belfast during the phoney 'curfew' of July 1970, that they had precious few friends among the Labour MPs at Westminster. Mr Gerry Fitt, MP for

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West Belfast, hastened to London on that occasion to complain of the troops' behaviour. He was listened to, in parliament, with anger from the Tory front bench and, one gathers, in very silent disapproval by the opposition front bench. It is not the done thing to criticise the British army. Mr Fitt must have been very chastened.

Neither in London nor in Belfast were the wheels of power turning in favour of a 'constitutional opposition' in Northern Ireland. What the SDLP Members did not appreciate at that time was that there cannot be a 'constitutional opposition' in an 'unconstitutional situation', where civil rule and civil law have, to all intents and purposes, been set aside in favour of military rule. It was, therefore, against a background of *de facto* military rule, accompanied by the shootings, riots, dawn searches of only Catholic homes, where the jails were full and hundreds awaiting trial and where the Government was showing the utmost reluctance to implement the reform programme in a way evident to those most aggrieved and only replied with more repressive legislation and calls for 'law and order', that the SDLP, and later the Nationalist Party, found that they had no other option than to withdraw their public representatives from the parliament, Senate and local authorities in order to expose the undemocratic nature of the state. It was still a 'Protestant parliament'. The SDLP announced that steps would be taken to set up an alternative Assembly.

The decision was welcomed by the Communist Party of Ireland in a statement issued on July 17 and which said:

> The failure of both [Irish] states allied with, and pressurised by, this new direction of British monopoly capitalism (entry into the EEC) has stirred up all the contradictions within the two [Irish] states and has caused a crisis, both political and economic, of great depth which reveals the unstable foundations on which both are built. The failure and crisis have been of greater depth in the Six Counties. . . . There have been revealed all the contradictions, the dangers, but also the possibilities, for an advance by the Irish people to freedom from that citadel (i.e. British imperialism).

Mr Barry White, political commentator of the Belfast Telegraph, said, on July 22:

> I know it is the customary thing to deplore utterly the action of the opposition in quitting Stormont, but on second, third and fourth thoughts, I'm not sure. . . . Since October 1968, it has been pretty obvious that Stormont was on its way out. Governments can only govern by consent, and Stormont only existed by the consent of the non-Unionist minority. It was a consent offered only because that minority accepted, through its cautious leadership, a permanently minor role. But it was withdrawn in Derry in 1968 . . . it has never really been re-established. The Stormont Government knew this; the

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> Westminster Government knew it. The Faulkner 'fair deal' policy was just about the last throw. . . . The final separation . . . can thus be seen as a mere formality . . . it was coming anyway.

Whilst all responsible parties and persons are demanding a political solution, the Faulkner Government and the Unionist Party want no political talks. They want only to have the same as before dished up in a different way. The Paisleyites and others are pressing for the reconstitution of the 'B' Specials, the rearming of the police, for internment and more repressive action by the British troops. (If the British troops are not willing to act as demanded, it is suggested that they get out of the way and let the 'defenders' of 'Ulster' get at the 'terrorists'.) They are also calling for a general election. Wm. Craig, President of the Ulster Loyalist Association and Unionist MP, has stated that if an election were called the Paisley Protestant Unionist Party would secure twelve seats and hold the balance of power. According to Craig, Prime Minister Faulkner's Government is only saved from a 'leadership crisis' by the parliamentary summer recess. 'Moderate Unionists' at Stormont have become as scarce as holy water in hell. Paisley has offered to do 'his duty', if necessary, and become Prime Minister. Not to be outdone in the 'loyalty stakes', the eight Unionist MPs at Westminster threaten to withdraw their support for the British Tory Government if they don't call up for service Northern Ireland's 4,000 British Army Territorials! They were informed that this was not possible except by way of a Royal Proclamation and only for service with Nato forces in a European war!

British ballistic experts and weapon technicians are alleged to be devising a new 'Ulster-gun' for use in built-up areas and acquiring 'more powerful' rubber bullets. The British Army operates under the hated Special Powers Act (first passed in Northern Ireland in 1922 and made permanent in 1933) and publicly pronounce that they are acting under 'common law'. They have left the people here with little respect for British common law! A local newspaper posed the question: 'Can August be worse than July?' All signs are that it will. At the time of writing, the day approaches for the Apprentice Boys' parade in Derry on August 12; Faulkner, the Army GOC (responsible for 'law and order'), and Maudling, the British Home Secretary, have refused to act to preserve the peace by forbidding it to take place. Yet Derry is a 'danger point' and especially so since the killing, by the British Army, of two young unarmed men in June during a minor riot.

For this parade, and those of the Royal Black Preceptory (Masonic

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Order) on August 31, the British Army is on duty to see that they are not interfered with, and the British Government is in complete agreement. This was made abundantly clear in a reply to Mr Gerry Fitt in the British House when he asked how many British soldiers were members of the Orange Order. Mr Geoffrey Johnston Smith, at the Ministry of Defence, replied: 'I cannot say. This is a matter for the individual serviceman'! And so we have the contrast: thousands of British troops geared to ensure that sectarian demonstrations take place and thousands more to keep the Catholic populace confined in their ghettos whilst the parading goes on and, if necessary, invade those homes and administer 'British justice'. No wonder the Editor of the *Irish Times* (August 4, 1971) commented: 'It is a strange occupation for soldiers—to be backing up a sectarian rite in the divided city of Derry.' Mr Eddie McAteer, president of the Nationalist Party and who represented a Derry constituency at Stormont for twenty-five years, was forced to comment after raids by the military there in the early hours of August 4 (the 57th anniversary of the declaration of the first world war): 'The British Army is driving the whole population into the arms of the IRA.'

The Communist Party has said that the situation is fraught with grave dangers but also with great possibilities. It has welcomed the decision of the opposition MPs for two reasons. Firstly, it totally exposes and leaves bare the parliamentary facade created by Britain and which, in the hands of the Unionists, was destined to prevent any other party, or group of parties, coming to power. Secondly, the possibility now arises of bringing the people of Northern Ireland along the road proposed by the Party's programme (1962) of a progressive government at Stormont. A call has been made for the widest possible alliance of all the forces opposed to Unionism to ensure the success of an alternative Assembly; for a united leadership and a common programme based on democratic methods of voting and elections; a return to civil rule and civil law; no internment and an end to military rule; a vast programme of public works to overcome the terrible unemployment and provide homes, schools, etc.; and which would create the basis for a political struggle to end British political and military interference in Ireland.

The action of withdrawal from Stormont, the massive dawn searches carried out by the military forces in the homes of those opposed to Unionism, the threat of internment of political opponents, the demands of the Unionist right wing for more repressive measures and the failure to curb these demands, the use of the British armed forces to protect sectarian parades even in' flash point' areas and the

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failure of the Government to carry out the reforms have all combined to unite the forces of anti-Unionism in a way not experienced since the early days of the civil rights campaign. The people are fighting back with ever greater vigour, and they are learning that unity is strength. They want a political solution to a problem created by Britain in 1920, when British Tories and Liberals fathered the Northern Ireland puppet state. Mr Maudling may believe that he is conducting 'open war' against the IRA. If so, he is as badly advised as were the Ministers dealing with the affairs of Rolls-Royce. He will learn that the Northern Ireland problem cannot be wished away. They cannot be dealt with by way of a cash subsidy. The US Senate will not come to his aid. Nor will the 11,000 troops, paid for by the British taxpayer, solve the situation. As in Vietnam, there will be no military victory. Only a political solution will answer the needs of the vast majority of the one-and-a-half million people whose only wish is to live in peace and amity with the rest of the Irish people and with the people of Britain.

At the time of going to press, the following letter from Betty Sinclair has reached us from Belfast, written on August 15:

Arising from the highly dangerous and dubious agreement made between the British Government and Brian Faulkner, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, at the meeting held in London on August 5, an agreement was made to ban all marches for six months. This included the August 12 march of the Apprentice Boys which was defended by London. As a *quid pro quo*, Faulkner pushed for internment. It was necessary if he was to be saved—it was his 'last throw'—from his right wing.

At least four senior ministers in his Cabinet, along with two Junior Ministers, had made it clear, one very publicly, that they could not continue 'to serve' unless internment was brought in. The leaders of the Orange Order, the Royal Black Preceptory, the Apprentice Boys and similar 'loyalist' organisations have now stated (after the introduction of internment) that they 'fully support' the security forces, i.e. the British Army, and have given Faulkner 'two months' to get the situation 'back to normal'.

The ugly situation now, six days after 'Bloody Monday' (August 9), when internment was put into force by the British Army *under the Special Powers Act*, is that over 1,000 political prisoners are held (mostly anti-Unionist); at least 230 internees have been taken in (all anti-Unionist and mostly men who were political, as opposed to 'physical force', opponents of Unionism); and searches of homes, only in Catholic areas, are carried out continually. Most of the latter areas are patrolled, night and day, by the military forces who are fully armed.

The internment was also a signal for a further pogrom which was sparked off by the ultras in the Unionist fold. Some 300 Protestant and Catholic homes have been burnt down in 'mixed' Catholic and Protestant areas by bands of such people displacing about 2,000 Protestants, most of whom have remained in the

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city. These thugs (and the brutal searches by the military for men to intern) also practised sniping into the Catholic areas and created panic among women and children. Over 8,000 Catholic women and children have sought refuge in the Irish Republic. The numbers who have gone to live with relatives within Belfast and in Britain is not known.

This latest pogrom has been greater in intensity than any which has gone before. The August 1969 pogrom was, rightly, blamed on the Northern Ireland Government and its security forces, i.e. the armed RUC and 'B' Specials. The August 1971 pogrom, the blame for it, has been laid at the door of the Westminster Government and its security forces, i.e. the British army. The latter are operating under the Special Powers Act and in co-operation with a *rearmed* RUC.

Both the Stormont and Westminster Governments refuse to recognise that there exists, or to take action against, an armed right wing of the Unionist Party. Yet, at July 31, 1971, there were 99,048 licenced firearms in Northern Ireland, and which included 69,000 shot guns, 7,000 high-powered rifles and 4,500 pistols. (The figure of illegally held weapons, in such hands, is impossible to estimate or ascertain.) All around the countryside, former 'B' Specials have been permitted to form 'Gun Clubs'. The RUC has been rearmed. All the members of the Ulster Defence Regiment have been put on full-time duty. The police reserve is fully-operational. The British armed forces strength is given variously as between 12,000 and 18,000. (The latter figure was given by the ultra-Unionist newspaper, the Belfast *News Letter*.) Now (August 15) the GOC General Tuzo has given a 'stern warning' that all weapons used, or suspected of being or about to be used, against the British Army, will be considered 'lethal' and persons in such situations are 'likely to be shot'.

Further, Tuzo has stated that they will no longer 'permit' the existence of 'no-go areas' (this is a further demand of the ultra-Unionists)—areas where the people have endeavoured to keep out the 'security forces' in order to protect their homes.

It is clear that the military repression will increase—the day might not be far off when curfews and open martial law will be declared—and it will necessitate the greatest support, for the people here, from the British trade union and labour movement. We are glad to see that more than 100 Labour MPs are demanding the recall of the Westminster Parliament. But more must be done if further British and Irish lives are not to be lost.

BETTY SINCLAIR

In Memory of Joan Beauchamp (1890-1964)

The Trinity Trust has received a donation of £250 from Mr Brian Thompson, drawn from the estate of his mother, Joan Beauchamp (Mrs Joan Thompson), and fulfilling what he believes would have been her wish. During the early years of *Labour Monthly* Joan gave it invaluable service, particularly in managing its business affairs, and was also Secretary of the Trinity Trust. Among her many distinguished services, both by voice and pen, she continued her close interest in this journal; and after the second world war (when she was the victim of a Nazi bomb) she still gave help to the journal to the extent that her precarious health permitted.

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ENGINEERS' STRIKE—1871

Angela Tuckett

ONE hundred years ago this summer, men in engineering shops and shipbuilding yards on Wear and Tyne won a victory as pacemakers for all Britain. Their strike from April to October 1871 for a Nine Hours Day was 'a notable event in Trade Union annals', wrote the Webbs.

Over 7,500 men of different trades, skilled and unskilled, were in battle, starting without funds. Less than 1,000 were trade unionists. The strike was conducted by a 'Nine Hour League', made up of unionists and non-unionists alike, the moving spirit being a Newcastle blacksmith, John Burnett, of the Associated Society of Engineers They showed brilliant leadership. Burnett's stream of publicity was a model of keeping strikers together, developing solidarity and countering every device of the enemy.

Trade being good, and the formidable Sir William Armstrong unable to attract British blacklegs, he spent £20,000 importing foreign workmen from Germany, Belgium and Scandinavia. Burnett sought help in London from the International Workingmen's Association in which Marx was active: their secretary went to Belgium to stop recruitment; when deported he hastened to Newcastle to win over the foreigners.

The Nine Hour League issued weekly balance sheets of donations from Aberdeen and Belfast to Plymouth and Swindon, by miners and railwaymen, stonemasons and lace-makers.

Armstrong evicted his tenants, turned children out of schools he owned, converting them into barracks for the foreigners. But 120 Germans themselves demanded the Nine Hours and joined in a demonstration of 25,000 on Town Moor. The Nine Hour League paid their passage home; a month later, on October 7, the employersgave in.

That day the Associated Blacksmiths of Scotland were meeting on Clydeside. A delegate said he was proud of the strikers, who 'earned the sympathy and respect of the whole working population for the noble stand they have made'. Soon after, the Clyde shipyards won even better terms. The torch was handed on.

The North East Group for the Study of Labour History has published a book* to mark the centenary of these events. The book is not a narrative for the general reader but several essays in which the group has given us valuable material, though more facts and less unsupported surmise about the key relations with foreign workers would have strengthened it.

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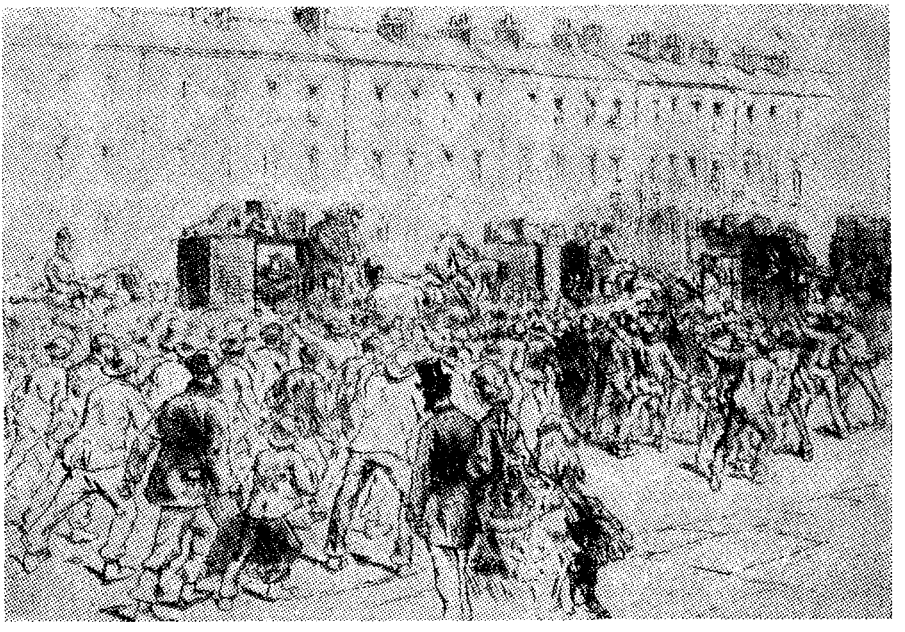
Plate produced by a Gateshead shop commemorating the engineers' victory. Original in Shipley Art Gallery.



Contemporary drawing from *Illustrated London News* showing arrival of foreign workmen at Newcastle.

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* *The North-East Engineers' Strikes of 1871*, E. Allen, J. F. Clarke, N. McCord, D. J. Rowe. *Frank Graham*, 196 pp., £2.50.

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WHITE COLLAR UNEMPLOYMENT

G. H. Doughty
General Secretary
Draughtsmen's and Allied Technicians' Association

AT the height of the depression in 1931, DATA, then the Association of Engineering and Shipbuilding Draughtsmen, paid out £77,115 to those unemployed of its 12,000 members. Today we are paying benefit to 1,800 of our members and in the first twenty-eight weeks of the year have already paid out £160,000. As many of our members will not be eligible for benefit*, it is more likely that a total of 2,500 DATA members are currently unemployed. Not since the early 1930s has DATA faced such a predicament.

These figures and those listed in Table 1 would suggest that unemployment is affecting not only the unskilled and skilled manual workers but also skilled technicians and professional workers.

Table 1
DRAUGHTSMEN, UNEMPLOYED AND VACANCIES
(GREAT BRITAIN)
(Source: *D.E. Quarterly*—Occupational Survey)

	Unemployed	Vacancies	Number unemployed per vacancy
March 1971	2,352	611	3.85
December 1970	1,663	894	1.86
September 1970	1,555	1,150	1.35
June 1970	1,155	1,466	0.79
March 1970	1,180	1,525	0.77
December 1969	1,168	1,506	0.78
September 1969	1,229	1,494	0.82
June 1969	1,077	1,552	0.69
March 1969	1,191	1,449	0.82

Table 2
NUMBER OF MEMBERS BEING PAID UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT BY DATA

March 1969	138
March 1970	168
March 1971	1,200
August 1971	1,800

* Unemployment benefit is only paid to those who have been members and working for a period of one year, and then only for maximum period of six months.

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Unemployment amongst draughtsmen, according to the Department of Employment, rose by 99.3 per cent during the period March 1970-March 1971, by 22 per cent in the field of banking and insurance, by 27.9 per cent for professional and scientific services, and by 12.3 per cent for clerical workers; the national average increase for the period was 31 per cent.

Clearly then, these figures illustrate the fact that unemployment amongst white collar workers has kept pace with the national average, and dispel the myth that white collar employment is secure. Yet even these figures do not give a true indication of the problem. It is not widely known that the statistics prepared by the Department of Employment hide a number of factors, the most important being that they take account only of those individuals *actually registered* as unemployed. Whilst most men register, the case is not the same with women. They see themselves as a fluctuating workforce accepting periods of unemployment naturally and not bothering to notify the appropriate department. When they are made redundant or leave their employment, they tend to return to their home for a time until they see an appropriate vacancy advertised. For this reason there is generally a significant discrepancy between the male and female unemployment figures. For example, in August 1971 the male rate was 5 per cent, whilst the female rate was much lower at 1.6 per cent.

Nor do the Department of Employment's figures take account of those men and women forced into early retirement on inadequate pensions by the ever increasing number of redundancies announced each day. Another hidden factor is the students who are potential white collar employees; today there are half-a-million students in full-time higher education, many of whom will have decided to continue their studies rather than risk themselves to potential unemployment. Once they have completed their courses and begin to look for jobs, the level of unemployment will rise again pushing many thousands of highly qualified people on to the dole. A recent Confederation of British Industry report on graduate employment reported that the majority of firms were cutting back on their graduate intake this year by 15 per cent to 20 per cent. Already the rate of graduate unemployment has risen remarkably in the last year and will almost certainly rise even more within the next few months. The present level of unemployment threatens not only *their* whole lives but also those already seeking employment. A degree or academic qualification can no longer be regarded as the key to a well-paid professional career. A university lecturer recently

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summed the situation up by saying that 'after this year we must all regard a university course in much the same way as a course at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art: a delightful way to spend three years or so, but no guarantee of a meal ticket' (quoted in the *Sunday Times*, May 2, 1971).

One cannot however take account of the situation without examining the reasons which have led to this unusual level of unemployment in the white collar area. The growth of administrative and white collar workers is a post-war phenomenon encouraged by the development of the technological era. Manual workers have in some cases been replaced by machines; administration has increased and technology has called for more and more highly trained and qualified personnel. In April 1971, the Department of Employment was able to estimate that 27 per cent of the total workforce were engaged in either administrative, technical or clerical work although doubtless this figure is an underestimate. The growth in this area is also one of the reasons for the growth in recent years of white collar trade unions. A resulting factor of this growth is that, in times of economic stress, it becomes one of the chief areas for the unloading of personnel.

There has also been an abundance of non-unionised white collar workers whose lack of organisation has made them all the more vulnerable to redundancies. Many are prepared to accept low wages for the priviledge of calling themselves 'white collar'.

A further important aspect to be considered is vacancies. Only once since 1956 have vacancies equalled or been greater than the number of people unemployed. The current difference is the largest since the war. Vacancies have fallen steadily since 1966 to one of its post-war lows of 179,030 in August 1971. Twelve months before this, there were 295,000 vacancies. This constitutes a fall of 39 per cent. The overall position in August therefore was that 904,190 were unemployed in the United Kingdom with only 179,030 vacancies available. Jobs are disappearing at the rate of 3,000 a day.

In engineering and shipbuilding over the last five years, unemployment has almost quadrupled from 31,835 to 119,995 but there are also 140,000 less employed in the industry. Unemployment in engineering is currently around 3 per cent, just below the national average, but a year ago the rate was well below the national average, and five years ago, half of it. This deterioration is most vividly seen in the ratio of unemployed to unfilled vacancies, that is the number of men chasing each job. In April, 4.35 workers were available for each vacancy in engineering whilst in shipbuilding 9.75 men

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were chasing each job. In Scotland some 12.61 persons were after each job, and what this figure will be like by the end of the year, now that the Government has refused a loan to the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders, one can only guess.

Money paid to dismissed workers under the Redundancy Payments Act rose sharply by 25 per cent in the first quarter of this year to £20.4 million. Last year some £72.5 million was paid out, a rise of £10.6 million on 1969. Some 251,255 workers received payments in 1970 and on the first quarter figure of 70,642 redundancy payments this total looks like being easily exceeded in 1971. Originally, the Government had calculated on payments of about £43 million for 1971 but this now looks far too low and it is being anticipated that the Redundancy Payments Fund will be well into the red during the second half of the year. Redundancies are 68 per cent up on last year.

The current escalation in unemployment is not mysterious. It is the result of *deliberate* Government planning designed to halt wage progression and cut back the standard of living of the working class. Prices are given the freedom to escalate whilst workers are threatened with redundancies in order to frighten them away from the negotiating table. It is an expensive form of blackmail. The *Times* of April 26 reported that 'a high level and rising trend of unemployment are, it is emerging, an integral part of the Government's short-term economic plan rather than just a regretted side-effect of past output trends.' In the debate on unemployment, Mr Barber made no bones about the Tories' intentions:

> To attempt by expansionary fiscal measures to bring about a substantial reduction in unemployment in present circumstances would do irreparable harm to our long-term prospects (*Financial Times*, April 29, 1971).

Facing such vindictive policies, the trade union movement can only combat unemployment by drawing up a joint charter aimed at pursuing a common policy. Not just one section of the community is feeling the effects of unemployment as in the past, but all sectors. It is therefore up to white collar and manual unions to assist one another in the face of this brutal attack.

There are many ways in which we can influence unemployment.

We can pressurise the present Government or indeed any other government which seeks deliberately to encourage unemployment or lower the standard of living of our members, by seeking taxation changes, higher investment, aid to underdeveloped areas or direct assistance to firms in dire financial troubles such as Rolls-Royce and UCS. The right to work is a basic right of all working men, and

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the decision of the UCS workers to continue working is an example which can be copied throughout industry.

We can work towards a policy of nationalisation and long-term planning in industry. The aim must be public ownership where the chief concern is not profit but social welfare and the advancement of living standards.

We must encourage a collective approach amongst trade unions to current employment problems. This would involve fighting redundancies or, at the very least, demanding higher redundancy payments, longer notices, earlier retirements with adequate pensions, a shorter working week, greater control of overtime, longer holidays and so forth.

We must seek the maximum amount of publicity in order to make every family realise the desperate situation we are heading for. It must be emphasised that *all* workers are threatened. Meetings, demonstrations and petitions must be organised in order to drive our message home to the Tories.

The above tasks can be accomplished if all sectors of the trade union movement realise the similar hardships of fellow unionists. In the past it has been the manual workers who have suffered, and their suffering at the hands of unemployment is still far greater than that of the white collar worker. An opportunity now presents itself for manual and white collar unions to join together in an attempt to defeat unemployment. Only by their solidarity will they be able to overcome the problem.

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES' CO-ORDINATION

Alan Fisher
General Secretary
National Union of Public Employees

PUBLIC sector pay claims are a key factor in the current confrontation between trade unions and the Government; apart from any other considerations, the sheer weight of the number of workers involved is sufficient to make the issue one of critical importance. Embracing such diverse segments of the economy as the civil service, the nationalised industries, the health service, the local councils and the education services, the public sector employs some six million workers—about a quarter of Britain's total employed population.

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The type of worker involved is also an important factor. Contrary to the belief carefully cultivated by sections of the Tory press, these public employees are not pen-pushing bureaucrats intent on strangling the population with red tape or smothering it with official regulations. Most of them are, in fact, manual workers. Even in the civil service more than one-third of the labour force is in industrial grades engaged in manufacture, maintenance and repair. Many manual workers in various parts of the public sector do jobs which have direct counterparts—or closely associated occupations—in private industry.

Allied to the size of the public employee work force and its occupational characteristics is relative pay levels. Many public employees, particularly those in manual grades, fall in the low earnings category. Industrial civil servants and local council manual workers, for example, are consistently at the bottom end of the Department of Employment's average earnings table.

Clearly, if the Government can succeed in limiting the level of pay increases to a substantial section of these public employees they will have secured a significant victory in a number of related areas—all of them of extreme importance in the Government's overall strategy.

First, by containing or reducing the wage bill in the public sector the Government will have gained additional leverage to shift still further the emphasis from public to private spending; they will thus be better placed to make yet more tax concessions to those in the higher income groups. Second, by acting hard against public employees, the Government will have set a general example to private employers to limit wage increases to the level imposed on the public sector; thus, while formally denying their acceptance of an incomes policy, they will have effectively established one by a back door method. Third, they will have set a particular example by providing reference points for those private firms employing categories of workers who have counterparts in the public sector and whose pay rises have been pruned by Government intervention. Finally, but by no means last in order of importance, if the Government does manage to put a hard brake on public sector pay increases it will weaken the trade unions' accelerating campaign against low pay.

It is against this background that the efforts of some public sector unions to develop a common strategy must be seen. Basically it is a defensive response by public sector unions to a Government attack on their members' living standards. But its implications

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extend far beyond the boundaries of the public sector and ultimately every trade union and every worker in the country will catch the bounce back from this conflict. Equally important, it is possible to envisage this defensive posture in one sector being transformed into an offensive action involving the whole of the trade union movement and aimed at making advances in a number of directions in addition to those directly related to wages: matters such as the role of the public sector within the economy, the hiving off activities of the Government in nationalised industries and increasing worker intervention in management.

There are, however, many fundamental problems to be resolved before public sector unions can expect to present even a united defence to the Government, let alone mount a combined offensive. It is to identify and tackle these problems that the TUC General Council decided to convene a special conference of public sector unions in the middle of August. A limited preview of this conference was held early in June, when unions organising in the nationalised industries held an informal meeting—at the invitation of the National Union of Railwaymen—to discuss wage discrimination against the nationalised industries and to consider the possibility of mounting co-ordinated resistance to such a policy. The points raised at that meeting give an indication of practical problems which must be dealt with at the TUC conference and which must receive the continuing and immediate attention of all trade unions.

At the NUR meeting there was, of course, general agreement that in the last round of wage claims the Government had operated what was aptly described as an 'invisible incomes policy' in the public sector, and had advanced this policy by picking off unions one by one. It was when discussion centred on the practical details of a co-ordinated trade union response to this policy that the difficulties became apparent.

A widely canvassed proposal is that unions in the public sector should draw up a common pay claim, submit it on a commonly agreed date and back it up with common action. When this suggestion was considered by the NUR convened meeting it met with fairly wide support, but primarily as a long-term objective. Speaker after speaker—no matter how firmly committed to the idea of united action against the Government—pinpointed the practical difficulties which they considered precluded such a proposal as an immediate course of action.

Variations in wage structures in particular public industries and services, differing earnings levels, composition of the labour forces

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and timetables of pay claims already in the pipe-line were mentioned. Alongside these technical details, important differences of approach emerged. Some speakers were insistent that the method of tackling each public industry and service separately with individual claims paid dividends because it enabled unions to develop a leap-frogging technique: if those parts of the public sector best able to pay were used as the starting point it would enable unions to use the higher paid workers to pull up the earnings of the lower paid groups. The fear was also expressed that a unified approach of public sector unions behind a common pay claim would lead the Government to adopt an even more determined stance against the unions.

Finally, and inevitably, the question of union autonomy and the ultimate right of each union's members to determine the shape, size and strategy of wage claims was emphasised. This, it was argued, would create tremendous complications in developing a common claim on a common date and backing it with common action.

Without necessarily subscribing to all of these arguments, it is obvious to any active trade unionist that there are some very real practical problems involved in co-ordinating the activities of public sector unions. The real question is whether these problems are so great that it would be impossible to resolve them, or that the time required would be so long that the unions would be overtaken by events before they had any viable plan to put into operation.

On balance it would appear that the best chance of speedy progress can be found by limiting the overall objectives. For example, instead of considering the public sector in total it might be advisable to tackle it in pieces. The unions involved in the fuel and power industries—coal mining, gas, electricity—could well develop the essentials of a combined campaign. Similarly in local government and education: the teachers, firemen, town hall staffs and council manual workers have common employers but negotiate separately. They could well mount a fairly detailed co-ordinated claim.

Alongside this approach, public sector unions could also agree on specific details of a wage claim to be fed into the normal negotiating process. If they could, for example, agree on a common formula to be used for the so-called threshold agreement to meet future price rises they would be helping to beat the Government at its own game by setting the pace for unions in the private sector to follow. Similarly, co-ordinated action by public sector unions to secure minimum basic rates along lines established by the TUC would give a big lift to the general campaign against low pay.

The advantages of this kind of sectional policy would be many.

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Unions still hesitant about co-ordinated action would be more likely to co-operate on limited objectives; and success would help to overcome their hesitancy and encourage them to become involved in more ambitious campaigns. Unified action in clearly defined groups within the public sector would create the possibility of more far-reaching structural change within the trade union movement. The concentration on issues such as cost of living buffers and the elimination of low pay would have a rapid spin off to the private sector. Finally, and most important, the attitude of mind would be established which would lead unions—both in the public and private sectors—to switch their energies from the defensive to the offensive with the maximum possibilities of success. In doing this they would break from the noose which the Tory Government has drawn around the necks of the working class in the last twelve months.

FREEDOM AND MARGARINE

Alan Brown*

CAN you tell the difference between freedom and margarine? An apocryphal question of course. Except, that is, to the big business exponents of Britain's entry into the Common Market (to whom everything appears as a commodity anyway). Their well-oiled brain-washing exercise—via press, radio, TV, etc.—is designed with a two-fold purpose: to sell a fake prospectus of prosperity for Britain in the Market, and to conceal the fact that the Market is designed to strengthen the monopolists and weaken the people's opposition to them. Their campaign has only one saving grace—it exposes the identity of those at the top who want us in, and demonstrates the unanimity of their anxiety. It therefore gives a clear warning to everyone who understands who their friends and enemies are in this life.

Witness first Sailor Heath, with his use of the Post Office apparatus to push a bowdlerised version of the Common Market White Paper, itself a bowdlerised version of 'negotiations' which made a mockery of the very word (assuming they were supposed to have been undertaken on behalf of the British people). Witness also the spate of glossy propaganda emanating from Brussels (and

* Alan Brown is Editor of *ASTMS Journal*; the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs has maintained a steadfastly anti-Common Market view since the early sixties.

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financed from a well-lined 'get Britain in at all costs' fund) costing millions of pounds. Pro-Market organisations in Britain are being fed money like water as part of the attempt to sway public opinion and provide Heath with a fig-leaf for his three-line-whip bulldozer.

Witness also the 71 High Priests of British industry, finance and distribution who recently took a full page in the *Times* (itself reading more and more like a Tory Central Office notice board) to tell us that entry would mean 'growth' and this in turn would mean 'more jobs and greater prosperity'. (It would be interesting to know how many workers have been put on the dole queues by the signatories' companies in the past 12 months.)

The list who signed the advertisement is a clear enough indication of which class really wants Britain taken into the Common Market, and which class stands to gain by it.

Leaders of Shell, ICI, Plessey, Standard Telephones, BP, Rio Tinto Zinc, Dunlop, Laing, EMI, BICC, Mather & Platt, British Steel Corporation, Fisons, Imperial Tobacco, Pilkingtons', Tube Investments, Portland Cements, Chrysler, British Leyland, Taylor Woodrow, BAC and Unilever's all signed. So the industrialists were well to the fore, panting at the prospect of multi-nationalism, and the abolition of national barriers which have become fetters on their freedom to get the cheapest labour, the most advantageous geographic displacement of their assets, and the hope of greater leverage over their labour forces.

And with the greater freedom offered by the Market to the movement of capital, so that it can seek out the most profitable places to breed (and to hell with employment prospects), the large financial institutions were also well represented: National & Grindlay's, Hill Samuel, Lloyds, Hambros, Williams & Glyns', Kleinwort Benson, Samuel Montagu and Lazards' were among the banking interests—appearing alongside major insurance companies like the Royal, Pearl, Eagle Star and Dominion Lincoln.

A few thousand spent on a *Times* advertisement is the merest bagatelle, purely petty cash, set alongside the millions which they look forward to as their share of a homogeneous West European Market—designed at birth to speed up the process of monopolisation (including the American variety).

The advertisement, however, was not issued by the signatories but by the European Movement, whose finances are of the greatest interest to all in the labour movement, since it spawns such organisations as the 'Trade Union Committee for Europe' and the 'Labour Committee for Europe'.

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Among its backers are several of the companies mentioned above, plus many additional major concerns such as Barclays, Burroughs Machines, Courtaulds, Distillers, Woolworth, Heinz, IBM, Lyons, Kellogg, Kodak, M & S, Metal Box, Midland Bank, National Westminster, Rothschild, Rowntree, Singer, Tate & Lyle, Watney Mann and W. H. Smith.

With backing like this, the activities of the Movement—particularly surrounding the recent special Labour Party Conference, with the costly junketting of delegates and press at the St Ermine's Hotel—raise questions of principle concerning the possible injection of employers' money into the conduct of trade union and labour movement affairs. If it is acceptable for such lobbying methods at a Labour Conference, are we to see the same sort of spectacle at trade union conferences on other issues?

Of the 96 companies listed as corporate members of the Movement, at least 19 are subscribers to such bodies as the Conservative Party, British United Industrialists, Common Cause, Aims of Industry and the Economic League. In addition there are over a dozen large American companies among them who see the value to their operations of having John Bull's Island as part of the West European monopolists' chess-board.

The 13 Lords, 29 Knights and their fellow signatories of the *Times* advertisement clearly know what they are about. The interests of their companies would be served by Britain's accession to the Treaty of Rome—and, when it comes down to it, return on capital is what they are about and what the Market is about also.

One of those who appended his signature was Mr E. G. Woodroofe, who a few days earlier in a letter to the *Times* said: 'As Chairman of Unilever Limited and joint Vice Chairman of Unilever NV, I already feel myself to be part of the EEC in day to day activities.' How naively put, Mr Woodroofe! In your positions in Unilever, you not only feel yourself part of the Market—you *are* part of it. You are what it is all about. In those capacities you represent the heart and soul of the 'European Idea': the subordination of all else to the needs of capital. Should Britain join the Market, you may well improve your profits from the hundred-and-one Unilever products—including margerine; but you must forgive the people at large if they question what the effect will be on their own lives and freedoms.

For, between the two sides of that coin, the people *can* tell the difference!

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CYPRUS IN THE GRIP OF CRISIS

Minos Perdios

CYPRUS is in the grip of a serious crisis—the most serious crisis since the emergence of the Cyprus Republic. Intercommunal talks between Greek-Cypriots and Turkish-Cypriots have moved slowly and have now reached a crucial point in the final stage. If the talks meet an impasse, threats against Cyprus will become imminent and serious. Any unfortunate or unwise move may result in a most grave situation, not excluding clashes along the military confrontation lines. And such a development will certainly have disastrous consequences for the Cypriot people.

The Cyprus Government, aware of this situation, is doing everything possible to pursue its policy of a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem and keep peace among the people of the island. In line with this policy the Government is planning to appeal to the UN Secretary General and, if necessary, to have recourse to the UN Security Council.

A major factor in this development is the pressure applied to the Government of Cyprus by Nato countries—Turkey and Greece—to give in and accept US-inspired plans. The imperialist powers, and especially the US, have, from the very birth of the Cyprus Republic, pursued a policy of pressures upon the Government of Cyprus, with the basic aim of turning the island into a military air and naval base for Nato in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. But this pressure has now been intensified and has taken the form of a concrete formula at a recent meeting in Lisbon of the Foreign Ministers of Nato countries. The basis for this latest plan was laid during recent exchanges between the Greek and Turkish Prime Ministers (Papadopoulos and Erim); they undertook to impose the plan, possibly even by force. The solution proposed aims at partitioning Cyprus between Turkey and Greece, and creating conditions for Nato to set foot in Cyprus.

The letter sent to the President of Cyprus by the Greek Prime Minister, which was published in the columns of the West German paper, *Der Spiegel*, left no doubts as far as the Greek junta's intentions towards Cyprus were concerned. In his letter, Mr Papadopoulos threatened that, unless President Makarios was willing to accept the Lisbon plan, he would be obliged to take 'strict measures,

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however bitter they may be'. And these 'bitter' measures menace the very existence of the Cypriot President.

Properly interpreting and expressing the Cypriot people's feelings in the matter, the President turned down the Lisbon plan and Mr Papadopoulos's proposals, and underlined the determination of Cyprus to resist any attempt to impose the plan upon the Cypriot people, whenever this attempt might come.

September is considered to be a crucial month for Cyprus, because, in the event of the intercommunal talks breaking down, Greece and Turkey are to consult each other as to the way to enforce the Lisbon plan for partition, with the aim of strengthening Nato's south-eastern wing. In this way, the problem facing Cyprus today is not so much the constitutional differences between Greek and Turkish Cypriots, but the threat against the independence and the very existence of the Republic of Cyprus.

Cyprus is a small country, an island of 600,000 people, but, against this background of imperialist intrigue, all her people and her President are determined to defend the sovereignty and unity of the island. In this struggle Cyprus is not alone. At her side stand ready to help the socialist and non-aligned countries, the democratic and progressive forces throughout the world.

The recent visit of President Makarios to Moscow and the joint Soviet-Cypriot communiqué, issued on the talks of the two parties, radically changed the situation in favour of Cyprus. The Soviet Union clearly stated in the communiqué not only support for full independence, integrity, sovereignty and unity of the Cyprus Republic, as well as the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed on the territory of Cyprus, but she reafirmed her constant, active opposition to any intervention in the internal affairs of Cyprus, to any use of force or threat of force against Cyprus. The presence of the Soviet Red Fleet in the Mediterranean has radically changed the balance and position of forces in this uneasy area.

The imperialist powers have been forced to think again, and this is why, alongside intrigues in the international field, they have intensified their subversive activities internally within the island. They have incited anti-communism and chauvinistic feeling in particular. Under these circumstances, threats against the life of President Makarios and party leaders of the left and other patriotic organisations are becoming more and more real and dangerous. The Cypriot people as a whole are forced to be on the alert, ready to deal with any suspicious move in this direction.

AKEL, the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus,

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faces heavy responsibilities as a leading force in the defence of the Republic. It has denounced the Lisbon formula and the proposals and threats contained in the Greek Premier's letter to the President of Cyprus, both being unacceptable to the Cypriot people. It gave its full support to President Makarios in his determination—as on similar occasions in the past—to resist pressures, and to give a clear and definite No to the Nato plans. AKEL believes that the unity of all patriotic forces, and their mobilisation around President Makarios, is the most effective weapon in the struggle against the enemies of Cyprus. At this crucial moment its appeal has gone to all political parties and other organisations to build up a powerful 'Front for Salvation' of Cyprus.

The initiative for a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem should be kept steadily in the hands of the Government of Cyprus. The intercommunal consultations must be carried forward in an atmosphere of mutual trust and goodwill. If these talks collapse, we must take the way to the UN. But if the enemies of Cyprus leave no alternative to the people and force them to fight, it becomes a matter of life and death, and AKEL has declared that it will place all its forces at the disposal of such a struggle, ready to fight for Cyprus to the end.

BOOKS

Britain in the Nineteen Thirties

Noreen Branson and Margot Heinemann

Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 358 pp., £4

IT IS NOT EASY for people of my generation to think of the events of the 1930s as 'history' in the same sense as Peterloo or Naseby. For us they remain part of our youth—the setting in which we grew and came to terms with reality. Of course this is a very wrong and partial view. The 1930s, as the authors of this book show, were among the most momentous of modern times—history in the fullest and most exciting sense. Consider some of the things that were happening—the second Labour Government and the treason of MacDonald, the great crisis with the total of unemployed rising towards three million, the victory of Hitler in Germany and the drive towards world war, the fight to build unity against war and fascism with the Spanish tragedy as its climax, Munich—with all that it implied for the bankruptcy of the British ruling class.

Britain in the Nineteen Thirties, a volume in a new series on British social history edited by E. J. Hobsbawm, deals with all this and a great deal more in a thorough and forthright manner, pulling no punches. Naturally there are those to whom this is unacceptable. Of these Mr A. J. P. Taylor is one. In a review in the *Observer* he throws criticism to the winds in favour of unsubstantiated abuse. The book 'is not history. It is a Communist tract. To judge from this book, it would seem that the British people were as badly off as a century before. . . . It would also seem that they were all passionately engaged in the so-called battle against fascism at home and were all passionately campaigning

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for war against Germany abroad.' For these remarkable statements he offers no evidence at all. So what does the book actually have to say?

I think, and perhaps this is a weakness, that a hasty and inattentive reader might just possibly come to the conclusion that the British people in the thirties (though we have still to ask, what people?) were as badly off as a century earlier. But no careful reader could possibly come to such a conclusion, since our authors repeatedly state the opposite. Thus on page 99 they estimate that real wages had risen by some 14 per cent during the century while pointing out that in mining they had fallen. On page 220 they suggest that the standard of living may have risen by almost 20 per cent in 1936 as compared with 1899. On page 203 they refer to improvements in diet and nutrition, and on page 221 to the increased expectation of life. Their statistical appendices show in detail an increase in real wages during the 1930s themselves, but it is perhaps too much to expect that Mr Taylor would have got so far. What the book does also show, and what I believe to be indisputably true, is that for millions of people in Britain these were years of very great hardship.

As for the 'so called battle' (was there then no real battle or no enemy to fight?) against war and fascism, nobody pretends, certainly not the authors of this book, that the whole people were 'passionately engaged'. If they had been the outcome would have been very different. But many people *were* 'passionately engaged', and if history proves anything it is that they were the ones who most accurately estimated the nature of events. This book would have been very poor history if their efforts had not been properly recorded. As for 'campaigning for war against Germany', this is, and I think Mr Taylor can hardly be unaware of it, a wicked and slanderous misstatement. No responsible anti-fascist, certainly no Communist, was campaigning for war—we were all much too busy campaigning for a policy which could have prevented war if it had not been obstinately rejected both by Chamberlain and the Munichites and the right-wing leaders of the Labour Party.

I do not know what Mr Taylor was doing in the 1930s. But speaking as someone who, in a very modest way, was involved in the struggles of those times, I must say emphatically that this book gives a picture that is in all essentials true to my memory and experience, a picture in which sympathy and understanding are supported by full and detailed facts and statistics. It will be equally useful to those of us who need to refresh our memories (and who doesn't?) and to those, by now more numerous, to whom the 1930s are now merely something their fathers or grandfathers talk about.

A. L. MORTON

The Stolen Republic

Carl von Ossietsky

Lawrence & Wishart, 264 pp., £1

CARL VON OSSIETSKY came from an impoverished petty-aristocratic family that had moved from Upper Silesia to Hamburg. Early he arrived at a materialist and democratic position with strong opposition to the militarist elements in Germany; and the rest of his life was a stubborn struggle against reaction, until, arrested in 1933, he died under Nazi brutality in 1938. A selection of his writings has been published as *The Stolen Republic*. The book consists of extracts from pamphlets and articles; his work was throughout based on a direct response to events. What saves it from being ephemeral is the vigour of the style, often owning a deep sarcasm and satirical force, and above all the fact that he is putting every ounce of himself into every moment of the struggle. We thus get a vivid picture of the

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political scene in Germany between 1911 and 1933, but also the revelation of a rich and fearless personality steadily developing and coming ever more fully to grips with things. It was the mixture of sustained seriousness with a lively openness of mind, ready to correct mistakes and overcome limitations, which gives a lasting value to his publicist work. In a sense we see refracted in one man the conflict and union of forces that consolidate into a solid popular front through consistent battle with the imperialist world.

JACK LINDSAY

Story of a Year: 1798

Raymond Postgate

Longmans, 248 pp., £2.50

HAVING PREVIOUSLY studied the year 1848, Raymond Postgate followed with a detailed account of the year 1798. This was a critical year in Europe, and the chief events are described and the account made colourful with a vivid description of the many background incidents and the chief personalities involved. It was the year of Napoleon's advance into Egypt and the decisive defeat of his fleet by Nelson in Aboukir Bay. It also saw the failure of the revolt of the United Irishmen and Wolfe Tone's attempt to create an independent Ireland which would unite Catholic and Protestant in one nation, a failure which, so obviously, has left its mark to this day. It was the year, too, of the creation of the first free black state by Toussaint L'Ouverture in Haiti. These events are central to the history of the year 1798. But the interest in the book lies not only in the analysis of the chief events but in the wealth of incidental material gathered together to tell the story of the year. It provides material for the historian along with a lively detailed description which will fascinate the general reader.

B.S.

Intelligence, Psychology and Education: A Marxist Critique

Brian Simon

Lawrence & Wishart, 280 pp., £3

WHEN PLATO wanted to show how to preserve the *status quo* in the class society of his day—threatened by democratic rumblings—he explained the method of what he called 'the noble lie', that men are created in three different grades: the men of gold, the philosophic (to be fully educated) who alone are fit to rule; the men of silver, soldiers and administrators; and men of brass and iron, the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Anticipating the possibility of working class rule in a democratic society, he warns: 'Woe unto the city if the men of brass and iron obtain the governmental power.' We in our day have our own noble lie, and it is the theory of superior and inferior innate intelligence, applied in the United States for racist ends and in this country to preserve class privilege in education, and the responsibilities and power that are made to flow from it. Brian Simon has collated a number of papers very powerfully controverting this theory: his case is unquestionably scientific and persuasively logical, in method and manner. He has in the same volume included his important book *Intelligence and the Comprehensive School*, published in 1953 and out of print. So we get two treatises for the price of one.

As long ago as 1949 the theoretical journals and press of the Communist Party carried the first criticisms of the intelligence tests which were designed by educationalists to decide who of children over eleven were to be educated, and who were to be hewers of wood and drawers of water. At that time the weight even of informed opinion was against them. In twenty years it has come over to the side of the critics, and an increasing number of educational authorities have already abandoned it. Yet in the public mind, and in the mind of newspaper men and broad-

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casters, the 'eleven plus' is, surprisingly, very much assumed to be the accepted and unquestionable method of selecting those intelligent enough for full secondary education. It also, therefore, continues to accept such tests as final and unalterable as far as general experience is concerned. As energetically propagandised by Jensen in the States, and Burt and Eysenck in this country, it coincides, says Simon, 'with a revival of what might be called biologism—or moves to interpret the activity of human beings in society in terms of animal behaviour or biological urges. Such were Desmond Morris's *The Naked Ape*, etc.' Eysenck, a notable behaviourist, explains all human conduct, including ethical reactions, in terms of the conditioned reflex. This is more closely related to Pavlov's theories than Professor Simon is inclined to think. The whole tendency, and especially the selection test and IQ case, pretty obviously operates as the ideology defending a class society.

Simon makes a point which even those who reject the eleven plus may well not have taken when he points out that streaming, whether in the primary school or the secondary school (including the comprehensive), accepts exactly the same principle; nor does it change if what is tested is described as 'intelligent behaviour' (as a fixed pattern), or a permanent level of educability (meaning treating eighty per cent as uneducable beyond a certain limit).

It should be pointed out that rejection of the notion of intelligence or educability as an innate and unchangeable quality, has nothing to do with the recognition of special aptitudes and differing attainments or abilities emerging in the course of an equal general educational process. 'Let us be clear that our objective should be equality—not equality of opportunity. The two concepts are different. Equality of opportunity has served its day as a slogan for educational advance . . . equal opportunities to achieve unequal things—a grammar school education or a modern school education. Equality of opportunity is today an élitist concept—presupposing an élistist society . . . ' What we have to fight for is a genuinely open and democratic education in which each child is regarded as of equal value with a unique personality, and every effort made to develop the capacities of all children.

JOHN LEWIS

The British Academics

A. H. Halsey and Martin Trow
Society Today and Tomorrow,
Faber & Faber, 560 pp., £5

'WHEN WE BEGAN thinking about this book in 1963 we were seeking an answer to an intriguing question. How would academic men in Britain adapt themselves and their institutions to a period of expansion and redefinition of higher education?' Thus the authors state their motivation. Their 'task, as [they] saw it, was . . . to provide a sociological portrait of the academic professions, describing and analysing their collective self-conceptions in relation to the programme of institutional expansion in which the Robbins Report would involve them.' Judged by these aims, the book is now of little interest. The 'Robbins expansion' has now taken place and, for the next phase of expansion, doubt is centred round Government intentions rather than universities' response.

The first part of the book contains a brief history and description of British universities, their function and the manner of their control (rather unevenly updated to 1970). Some of this is interesting, though most of it is readily available elsewhere. The second, and larger, part of the book is concerned mainly with replies from 1,408 university teachers to a questionnaire sent out in spring 1964. Views on expansion are correlated with age, status, faculty, type of university, etc.,

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etc. (but not sex—it is never clear whether 'academic *men*' embrace academic women) and these variables are cross-correlated. There are some amusing snippets of information, but as a 'sociological portrait' the value of the data is limited by the somewhat introspective nature of both questionnaire and analysis.

SHEILA BRENNER

The Lost Crusade

Chester L. Cooper

MacGibbon & Kee, 560 pp., £3.75

IN ONE OF THE MANY illuminating anecdotes in this book, the author tells of US Defence Secretary McNamara listening to a briefing by the American commanding general in Vietnam and then saying: 'Now, General, show me a graph that will tell me whether we are losing or winning in Vietnam.'

This board-room approach to fighting a guerrilla liberation movement is one of the many tragic absurdities of 'US involvement in Vietnam from Roosevelt to Nixon', related by Chester L. Cooper in his relatively candid account of that war. 'Some skeptic,' writes Cooper, 'suggested that we could destroy all the critical targets in North Vietnam by dumping on them the chart books accumulated over any six-month period.'

Cooper has been in a unique inside position to observe the madness of the US obsession in trying to destroy Vietnamese freedom. As the Assistant for Asian Affairs on the White House staff he sat in on National Security Council meetings that determined policy and tactics in Vietnam, and he was a member of the US delegation at the 1954 Geneva Conference on Indo-China and the 1961 Laos Conference, as well as at the conference that set up the Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the book he has written is the style in which he has done it, full of wry wit and sardonic commentary on the ghastly mistakes and monumental blundering he has observed, not the usual manner of officialdom, particularly counter-insurgent officialdom.

In general terms, this is an honest book by one who evidently had doubts while at the centre of involvement (he mentions several examples of his moderating advice being overridden by the 'bomb everything' boys). It is a criticism of the war, and it ends with the fervent wish for 'No more Vietnams'. Nevertheless, it is also a disturbing book to read, making one aware that even one who is so obviously human and a 'good fellow' could play an active participating role in prosecuting a savage, inhuman war of aggression.

Publication of the Pentagon Papers, in fact, has cast a further shadow on the author's sincerity. In this book, published many months earlier than those revelations, Cooper presents the Tongking Gulf episode as Johnson tried to make it appear, although from his position in the inner circle Cooper would certainly have known the truth about that monstrous deception. One is reminded that honesty is a relative thing. In the meantime, the anecdotes of imperialist arrogance and stupidity are revelations in themselves.

WILLIAM J. POMEROY

The Half-Time System in Education

Edmund and Ruth Frow

E. J. Morten, 94 pp., 60p

THIS STUDY of the nineteenth-century system of part-time schooling, part-time work in the mills, originally for children of nine to thirteen, ought to find a place in every education library; some readers may find a parallel in Mrs Thatcher's alarming designs on the Open University, and her proposals for increased fees in further education.

F.N.

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Social Theory and Social Policy

Robert Pinker

Heinemann, 226 pp., £2

THE VOCABULARY of contemporary sociology is becoming so specialist that only those who have done a course in it can readily follow the discussion. This in my opinion is a pity, since the ideas being discussed are of great interest to the wider world. Mr Pinker's book is a case in point. He begins by tracing the influence of nineteenth century sociological thought on the development of our present day social welfare systems. Some of this is entertaining and apt: the attitudes of those who believed that good character meant looking after one's own welfare by personal endeavour, thrift and forethought live on today in the arguments of the Institute of Economic Affairs about 'Choice in Welfare'. The deterrent perspectives of the 1834 Poor Law (no relief except through the workhouse and 'less eligibility') were still dominant well into the twentieth century.

The book goes on to a discussion of the approach to social services in terms of their 'status enhancing and stigmatising propensities'. The 'universalists' (i.e. those who think that services should be universally available —for instance, free milk in schools) are contrasted with the 'selectivists' (in practice, those who believe in means tests for any service); there is a discussion about 'positive discrimination' (which means you discriminate in favour of the poorest without the stigma of a means test, as with the Plowden proposal to concentrate proportionately more money on slum area schools). Mr Pinker suggests that the development of public utilities—completely free public transport, for example—might be the most desirable way forward.

It seems to me that this book suffers from a common defect. It sees society primarily in terms of *consumers* at the mercy of uncontrolled market forces. This is only half the picture. The other half is that workers are *producers* and it is the relationship to the means of production which determines classes. Unless social policies are examined in the context of the class struggle, their true significance remains obscured. This leads on to what Mr Pinker says about Karl Marx: 'If we follow the logic of Marx's argument we are driven to the conclusion that poverty, at least for the duration of capitalism, is good for the poor because it is good for revolution. The less we intervene to ameliorate social evils the shorter will be the lifetime of capitalism.'

But this, of course, is *not* the Marxist position. Even as long ago as 1848 in the Communist Manifesto, Marx said: 'Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.' Later on, Lenin said: 'By striving to improve its conditions of life the working class at the same time rises morally, intellectually and politically and becomes more capable of attaining its great emancipatory aims.' It is true that in 1848 the fight for free school dinners or free public transport could hardly be among the 'momentary interests' of the working class. But the place of the social services among the immediate aims of the working class, so as to improve their conditions of life, and effect some redistribution of income from rich to poor, has been recognised in the twentieth century, and its significance for Marxists has been explored many times.

Marxists also practise what they preach. In the inter-war period the major struggle against '1834 and all

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that' was led by Marxists, chief among whom was a man called Wal Hannington, who mobilised the unemployed to fight for 'work or maintenance'. This struggle, I believe, had a major impact on the social welfare systems initiated during and after World War Two.

KATHERINE HOOD

Apartheid Axis

William J. Pomeroy

International Publishers (Central Books), 96 pp., 60p

THE DRAMATIC extension in the last decade of the West's economic involvement in South Africa is in stark contrast to its frequent condemnations of the apartheid system. That it reaps such high rewards from a system it apparently abhors is perhaps one of the more obvious contradictions of capitalism. In this paperback Pomeroy examines United States investment in South Africa and illustrates the pivotal role South Africa plays in facilitating US economic penetration into southern and central Africa. The political implications of US investment (in 1968, $692 million in South Africa alone) in the fight against apartheid are extensive. A simple practical example is US Gulf, whose oil mines in Cabinda (Angola) can provide South Africa with the one resource it lacks in the event of UN sanctions being imposed. Recently US companies have obtained oil rights in areas of Mozambique under FRELIMO control. Thus the liberation movements are already coming into direct conflict with American interests. The military backing that the US gives Portugal in Nato is intended to protect such interests. Pomeroy's message is clear. We must support the struggles of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa by exposing and fighting all collaboration by the West with these racist regimes. This book is a sound contribution to that exposure.

ROGER TRASK

Problems of Socialism Today

Santiago Carrillo

Lawrence & Whishart, 200 pp., 75p

'WHY GET OBSESSED with the past and why remain chained to it, when so many new phenomena, so many possibilities for the future demand our attention and call for action on our part?' This is the keynote of Santiago Carrillo's approach in this remarkable and rewarding book—not only in dealing with Spanish problems, but also to other national and international problems.

'It is necessary to adopt an attitude of curiosity, a questing attitude, leaving the well-trodden paths. It is necessary to jettison "ready-made" ideas, the notion that if things happened in a particular way in the past, it is impossible for them to happen in another way now.'

In this spirit he examines the situation in present day Spain: the great upsurge of the democratic, anti-fascist forces; the working class with its great struggles and strikes—its throwing off the authority of the state-created trade union movement and finding its own forms of organisation in workers' commissions; the growth of the Communist Party with a really mass basis even in illegal conditions—not always members in formal terms but fighting consciously for its aims.

This movement for democratic renewal is stirring Spanish society to its very depths, among which old enemies may become new allies. This resurgence has had a profound effect inside the Catholic Church which for hundreds of years has been the instrument of the ruling Junta.

Now, not only the peasants and workers speak out for democracy and social change but bishops, clergy of all levels. Working agreements have been reached with the Communist Party especially on social and democratic issues. Large sections of Catholicism

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have already come out in support of economic forms of socialism, and accept Marx's critique of capitalist society; therefore 'it is not simply co-existence but concurrence, which renders practical collaboration feasible.'

The changes of ideology, even among the former extreme right-wing of the Phalangists, indeed makes it possible for old enemies to become new allies in the fight for democracy and advance to socialism.

With great optimism and confidence Carrillo views this great unifying upsurge, of workers, peasants, Catholics, atheists, youth, students, intellectuals. It will hearten and exhilarate all, especially those in Britain who participated during the Civil War for Republican Spain. The section on youth and the students is worth careful study by both young and old —such lessons there are for us.

Carrillo examines many serious, theoretical problems, e.g. dictatorship and democracy. He asks the question: 'What was universal and what purely Russian in the Soviet revolution?' His answer: In the circumstances of 1917 there was no other road for our Russian comrades—and what a bulwark they have been for all other countries! But now, with the strength of the socialist world existing, it is possible to envisage that 'the transition from capitalism to communism is certainly bound to yield a tremendous abundance and variety of political forms' (quote is from Lenin). Carrillo attacks sectarianism in the ranks of the left, is self-critical of mistakes and, again to quote Lenin (1917): 'The principal mistake which revolutionaries can make is to look backwards, towards the revolutions of the past, at a moment when life itself is bringing forward so many new elements which must be fitted into the general chain of events.' What Lenin wrote in 1917 is much more true today, with the great technological and social advances.

Carrillo makes clear his conception of the advance to socialism, including the dictatorship of the proletariat *against hostile capitalist elements*—but including in its Government and other ruling bodies other organisations and parties. 'Leninism as a doctrine—and, as far as possible, in practice—signifies neither the exercise of power exclusively by the Communist Party, nor the existence of the Communist Party as the only party.'

It is the unity of aims—democracy, socialism—the unity in action, it is the existence of a really Marxist-Leninist Party that can feed ideas and plans into the great ferment and guide the mass movement that in this period is the key way forward. As we say in Britain: 'Unity of the Left'.

This book is an inspiration to all. It strengthens our faith in the final success of our Spanish comrades. It should be read and studied by all. I have had space only to touch on a few of the vital issues raised. Many, many more are there for careful thought.

ISABEL BROWN

Social Sciences

Quarterly Journal of the USSR Academy of Sciences

Available from *Central Books*, 250 pp.

THIS INDISPENSABLE quarterly magazine for all serious students of Soviet academic work of the highest quality in the whole field of the social sciences is proceeding from strength to strength since its first appearance in its present form, with editions in English and Spanish as well as Russian, in 1970. Thus the current number for the third quarter of 1971 contains full-length studies by leading authorities on behalf of the Soviet Academy of Sciences on such subjects as 'Theoretical Problems of the Political System of Soviet Society'; 'Lenin's Ideas of Workers' Control'; 'Does Marxism

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Underestimate Law?'; 'On Progress in Literature and Art'; 'Dethronement of a Myth (concerning *Crime and Punishment* by F. Dostoyevsky)'. This is the only magazine conveying to English readers the outcome of current Soviet academic work through the USSR Academy of Sciences in the whole field of the social sciences (history, philosophy, economics, sociology, law, philology).

The fact that apparently at the moment there are only six subscribers in Britain, and a retail sale of thirty, contrasting with 300 in Belgium, 500 in Bolivia or 2,000 in Cuba, is evidence of some weakness in the present distribution, as well as a possible reflection of a certain provincialism in academic awareness in relation to new developments of academic work in the Soviet Union. As soon as attention is called to the contents, there can be no doubt that there will be the keenest interest of specialists in the various subjects covered. R.P.D.

Because They're Black

Derek Humphry and Gus John

Penguin, 204 pp., 30p

THIS IS A HIGHLY readable book and should shake the complacency of many who still believe that everything will be all right once the second generation grow up together. It is a skilled analysis of the problems faced by immigrants in depressed areas, presented through the comments of the people themselves. Unwittingly, however, it may damage even further the confidence of those with whom it deals so sympathetically. Gus John sees Handsworth as a 'ghetto' and anticipates symptoms of the 'ghetto syndrome' in the people living there. The reader might, moreover, be forgiven for concluding that West Indian youth in particular must come into conflict with the police and be involved in petty offences. Disadvantaged as some immigrants are, there is a danger that they too will accept this stereotype of themselves. Some are already turning 'ultra' or withdrawing into apathy and disenchantment.

Whilst the book gives attention to the environmental factors that influence the lives of immigrants, it would have been more revealing if white people in the same areas had also been asked to comment. Their view of society and their prospects for the future might well have been very similar to those expressed by black people.

It does white workers good to see themselves through the eyes of those whose dark skins aggravate their environmental problems, as only then can they think of solutions, but we must be rational if we are to achieve anything practical. These people are up against an archaic capitalist system which is prepared to exploit a woman's labour potential but also expects her to 'stay home and mind baby'. Children are at risk in Handsworth and other deprived areas because there are insufficient nursery places, registered child minders and nursery schools and because they live in poor accommodation, and not only 'because they are black'. MARY DINES

Moscow—Stalingrad: 1941-1942

Progress Publishers (Central Books), 278 pp., 90p

THIS BOOK tells of the tremendous struggle against fascism waged by the Soviet Union during the hardest stages of world war two—the years 1941-42. The battle for Moscow and other major events are described. The articles and stories are by Marshals Zhukov, Vassilevsky and Rokossovsky, and by such well-known authors as Alexander Fadeyev, Konstantin Simonov, Vassily Grossman and Alexander Bek. J.R.

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OVERWHELMING? NO!

THERE is such a rush today of burning issues, all of which seem to be pouring in upon us and each as it arises seeming more daunting or more in need of urgent action than the one of yesterday (or even of an hour or two ago: in practice the latest news broadcast), that our journal cannot hope to give anything like a full discussion and lead on them all, while dealing with the overall picture of developments.

And how it hurts—to have to refer to some issues *without* having the space for a full article or section in the 'Notes'. Such is the position this month with Sudan and the Middle East, referred to by the Editor who had hoped to deal more fully with this and further topics, but for which we would have required some ten extra pages in the magazine.

For many, the rapidity of attacks leads to a feeling of being overwhelmed. But our readers are closely aware of the response in the trade union and labour movement to the need for a fight back. *Labour Monthly*, as part of the answering struggle, is equally active in the immediate fight against the Tory offensive and in presenting long-term policies, for changes which affect all today's problems, for a socialist answer.

This TUC issue of *LM* lays special emphasis on trade union questions, of first importance to many engaged in the 'fight back'. We would particularly like to have reports from our readers in the unions who are able to bring it to the attention of potential readers, or raise the question in their branch of a regular order for copies of *LM*: a number of branches and districts buy in this way for their members, and this is a practice which could be extended.

One more point. Our fund figure below has suffered a sudden drop from that target level of £100 to £64: something of a fight back required here too.

Nicola Seyd

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Labour and Unemployment 1900-1914, Kenneth D. Brown. David & Charles, 220 pp., £3.

Labourers and Landowners in Southern Spain, Juan Martinez-Alier. Allen & Unwin, 352 pp., £5.95.

Conversations with Allende, Régis Debray. NLB, 190 pp., £1.05.

The Labour Government 1964-1970, Harold Wilson. Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 836 pp., £4.80.

The Anti-Hitler Coalition, Victor Issraeljan. Progress Publishers (Central Books), 422 pp., £1.25.

Soviet Democracy and Bourgeois Sovietology, M. Perfilyev. Progress Publishers (Central Books), 206 pp., 30p.

Does Fidel Eat More than your Father?, Barry Reckord. André Deutsch, 192 pp., £2.10.

From the Dead Level, Hakim Jamal. André Deutsch, 240 pp., £2.50.

The Demonstration, *The Illusion* and *The Occupation*, David Caute. André Deutsch, 112 pp., £1.40; 268 pp., £2.50; and 302 pp., £2.

The Military-Industrial Complex, Sidney Lens. Stanmore Press, 184 pp., £1.50.

Organize!, Wyndham Mortimer. Beacon Press, 260 pp., available on order from Collett's.

The Soviet Collective Farm, P. Simush. Progress Publishers (Central Books), 146 pp., 25p.

Pluto's Chain, Y. Markhinin. Progress Publishers (Central Books), 214 pp., 75p.

Britain and the Common Market, S. S. Han and H. H. Liesner. Cambridge University Press, 116 pp., £1.20.

On the Paris Commune, K. Marx and F. Engels. Progress Publishers (Central Books), 358 pp., £1.

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